No man is my brother: The Minute Men of the New Frontier

The following United Press International dispatch appeared in the Los Angeles Herald-Express *on July 28:*

LAS VEGAS, Nev., July 28 (UPI)—Plans for a 5000-man militia to repulse an estimated million Southern Californians whom officials think might plunder Nevada in the event of a nuclear war were unveiled yesterday.

The proposal was made at a civil defense meeting attended by nearly 400 business and industrial leaders.

J. Carlton Adair, plans and programs officer for the local civil defense organization, said the militia would be under command of the sheriff's department and that enabling legislation for its formation would be sought as soon as possible.

Adair said that if Nevada is not hit by heavy radiation or a thermo-nuclear bomb at the same time as California, "a million or more persons might stream into this area from Southern California."

"They could come in like a swarm of human locusts," Adair said, "and pick the valley clean of food, medical supplies and other goods. Our law enforcement agencies are not numerically equipped to handle such an influx of humanity so we have drawn up plans for a militia."

Brig. Gen. J. T. Roberts (USA ret.) advised Las Vegas residents to build bomb shelters in their backyards.

Roberts also had a word about the neighbor problem.

"If the builder takes a shotgun into the shelter with him as I advocate to protect his family, the head of the family must be prepared to repel invaders—even those who come from across the street."

AN OMEN FOR WASHINGTON TOO

Behind British crisis: The days of guns AND butter are past

By Ed Sears

LAST JULY 25, Britain's Chancellor of the Exchequer Selwyn Lloyd presented to Commons the Tory government's solution to the country's most serious economic crisis since the 1930s.

On the same day, President Kennedy told the American people how he planned to handle the Berlin controversy, the world's most serious political crisis since the end of World War II.

The addresses were similar in that they carried somber messages. Lloyd asked the British people to accept lower living standards, while Kennedy urged the American people to support a military buildup. Kennedy's speech, unlike Lloyd's, contained one note of optimism. Americans, he implied, could have guns AND butter too.

"Economic advisers assure me . . . that our country has the capacity to bear this new request. We are recovering strongly from last winter's recession . . . And for the first time since the fall of 1959, our gold position has improved and the dollar is more respected abroad."

GOLD REVERSAL: Kennedy's statement about the U.S. gold position was correct. During January, when Kennedy took office, $326 million in gold left the country. During June, less than six months later, $147 million flowed into the U.S. What Kennedy neglected to say was that this reversal in the gold flow was one of the main reasons for Lloyd's austerity plan.

In the last few years the U.S. has piled up large deficits in its balance of payments, primarily from the costs of maintaining overseas bases and supporting dictatorships throughout the "free world." In 1960, the outflow of investment capital contributed markedly to this deficit.

During most of 1960, interest rates in England were substantially higher than in the U.S. Last summer, the Bank of England charged 6% for its loans while the U.S. Federal Reserve Banks charged 3%. This difference was large enough to induce Americans to invest in England. The Bank of England began accumulating dollars, some of which were converted into gold. The U.S. lost about $2 billion in gold; the U.K. gained $300 million of the metal.

To stem this outflow, the U.S. had to reduce the difference in rates between the two countries. Since the U.S. was in the midst of its fourth postwar recession, it could not raise its rates without risking a major depression. It had no alternative but to induce the British to lower theirs.

MARK REVALUED: Under U.S. prodding, the Bank of England lowered its rate to 5%. The U.S. also put pressure on Germany, another country in which Americans were investing heavily, to take similar measures. The Germans raised the value of the mark and lowered their interest rates. The revaluation of the mark, however, was small, only 5%, and the U.S. Treasury expressed open dissatisfaction with this. Rumors had it that the U.S. would force the Germans to make a

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NATIONAL GUARDIAN
the progressive newsweekly

15 cents

VOL. 13, NO. 44 NEW YORK, AUGUST 14, 1961

TRIALS POSE THREAT OF FINANCIAL RUIN

Freedom Riders withstand barbarous jail treatment

By Joanne Grant

NEARLY 300 Freedom Riders have been convicted and served time in Mississippi jails since the Freedom Rides began in May, and neither Mississippi officials nor the Riders show any signs of easing off.

In its latest move, the city of Jackson—terminus for dozens of Freedom Rides in the last two months—has ordered all 161 Riders it had jailed and released in $500 appeal bonds to appear for trial on Aug. 14. One official of Congress of Racial Equality (CORE), sponsor of the Rides, said that the latest harassment was an attempt to bring financial ruin to the movement.

Three Riders recently released from the state penitentiary at Parchman, Miss., told the GUARDIAN that the Rides had (1) stimulated a non-violent direct action movement in Jackson, where Negroes have recently formed a civil rights action organization; (2) opened lunch counters in Montgomery, Ala., and other Southern cities for use by integrated groups of travelers.

James E. Clayton in the Washington **Post**, July 4, indicated one more result. He wrote: "There is awareness among die-hard segregationists that the ultimate test of their position is rapidly coming and that the support they have had from moderate Southerners is crumbling."

HARSH TREATMENT: One Freedom Rider, Miriam Feingold, 20-year-old Swarthmore College student from Brooklyn, N.Y., predicted another result of continuing arrivals of Riders in Jackson: harsher treatment by prison officials. Miss Feingold spent 31 days in two prisons—five days at Hinds County jail in Jackson, the rest in the state penitentiary. She confirmed reports of harsh treatment from those released earlier and reported an additional harassment of women prisoners: they were all forced to submit to vaginal searches under unsanitary conditions.

Despite the conditions of imprisonment, Miss Feingold said: "I am glad I went and I will continue to do everything I can in the movement." She said that her participation probably would not affect her college career or future employment, but, she said, "If it does, it does."

HOW THEY RESISTED: Another rider, Price Chatham of East Rockaway, L.I., who was on a hunger strike for more than three weeks, told the GUARDIAN he had seen two Riders who used total passive resistance, dragged on their stomachs across gravel. When they refused to undress, guards ripped their clothes from them and dragged them naked across concrete floors using "wrist breakers"—a clamp with handles for applying pressure to wrist and hand. The two, Felix Singer, 32, and Terry Sullivan, 19, of Chicago, reported that electric cattle "shockers" had also been used on them.

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HAVANA'S 26th JULY ANNIVERSARY CELEBRATION WAS A MIGHTY ONE. FOR CEDRIC BELFRAGE'S STORY OF THE EVENT, SEE PAGE 3.

THE MAIL BAG

A fishy look

EL CAJON, CALIF.

Having been lied to on several occasions in the past by my Government, I must look with a fishy eye upon all this "need" for increasing the manpower of our military force, the increased buying of 'conventional" weapons and delivering "civil defense" into the hands of the military.

God help the civilian who is being directly protected by the army. The instant that happens, out the window goes the entire Constitution, and not only the First Amendment.

Here are some questions I'd like answered:

Is this increase of manpower and "conventional" weapons, perhaps, needed for a sucessful invasion of Cuba?

Is increasing the draft for reducing unemployment?

Or is all this additional spending simply a means of giving our chronically sagging economy one more injection?

Robert Karger

For Rose Sobell

NEW YORK, N.Y.

When we learn that courageous Rose Sobell is enduring yet another birthday—her 67th—with her son Morton still not free, each of us must demonstrate in our own way that we continue to help in deed and spirit.

Dear mother of a heroic man, here are my greeting-card wishes for justice, freedom and a wonderful family reunion soon.

To give these words action, not just sentiment, I am sending my financial contribution to Rose Sobell, 940 Broadway, New York 10, N.Y.

Evelyn Harap

Siqueiros: One year

NEW YORK, N.Y.

The world's greatest living artist—so many consider him—has been in jail now for a year. It seems incredible that a Mexican prison still holds David Alfaro Siqueiros, last survivor of the distinguished triumvirate—Rivera, Orozco and Siqueiros—responsible for the most impressive art movement of our time, the Mexican renaissance of mural painting. Thousands of American tourists have admired his work on the walls of Mexico's public buildings, including the National Institute and the University of Mexico. His work hangs in museums all over the world.

Siqueiros has been in prison since Aug. 9, 1960, **still without trial**, on vague charges of "tending to cause social dissolution." Translated, this means mainly giving moral support to demonstrating students and organizing the 1959 defense of 5,000 jailed railroad strikers.

Some 18 railroad leaders and 13 other political prisoners are still in prison. The situation is virtually unchanged from that of last April when our committee ran an ad in the GUARDIAN making known the facts and asking (1) protests to the Mexican ambassador and (2) funds to continue our campaign for their freedom.

The response of GUARDIAN readers at that time was immediate and generous. But the prisoners remain behind bars. We again urge protests to Ambassador Antonio Carrillo Flores, Mexican Embassy, Washington, D.C. Funds may be sent to:

Betty Millard, Treasurer
U.S. Friends of Mexico
Box 73, Village Sta.
150 Christopher St.
New York 14, N.Y.

Freedom to speak

TUSTIN, CALIF.

Your letters to the editor were unusually outspoken July 24. People must have freedom to speak and get things done. The extremely great Henry Wallace spoke up for peace during a crisis. The world was with him completely for he spoke to humanity about its deepest problem—war and peace.

No one wants war—the inconceivable holocaust!

George T. Gaylord Jr.

For Jesse Garcia

SALT LAKE CITY, UTAH

In absence of cooperation of counsel, a last desperate stand will be made to save the life of Jesse Garcia, youthful Mexican-American sentenced to die before Utah's firing squad Aug. 17.

Utah graciously gives its children, as well as adults, a choice in the manner of their death. Jesse Garcia was 17 when the judge asked him whether he would prefer to be hanged or shot. Jesse said: "It don't make no difference."

Jesse was barely 16 when he was committed to Utah State Prison. The judge who sent him there rejected the opportunity to send him on a "trade" basis to a Federal institution in Colorado where he could have received psychiatric care.

He was still 16 when he was charged with first degree murder (with co-defendants Mack Rivenburgh, 36, and Leonard Warner Bowne, 19) for slaying of a fellow inmate.

During trial, news coverage was mainly on conditions at the prison: Homosexuality (even by force) uncontrolled, drugs accessible, "authority" through terror by inmates. Evidence against Garcia was eclipsed and rumor supplanted fact.

If there could be any question that this boy, diagnosed as paranoiac ("delusions" of persecution) was terrorized by hardened inmates, let it be known that upon commitment he was sentenced in "kangaroo court" to be raped, and was raped, thereupon by a large number of convicts while a knife was held at his neck. He was given no protection either before or after this violence.

Rivenburgh, under influence of amphetamine at the time of the murder, is sentenced to die. Bowne received a life term.

The primary purpose of our committee (Life for Garcia, 705 6th East, Salt Lake City) is commutation for Garcia, but protests on any or all aspects of this case would be appreciated. Address: Gov. G. D. Clyde, State Capitol, Salt Lake City, Utah.

Ethel C. Hale

How Crazy Can You Get Dept.

At least 20 alert readers sent in the Nevada story (on top of page one) as a "How Crazy" entry. In tribute to them we have selected no winner for this box for this week. Keep sending, however — and be sure to submit the original clip with your entry. Winner gets a one year sub free.

Press distortion

NEW YORK, N.Y.

We all know the picture of Cuba given by our press—and this distortion of the actual facts has been repeated in regard to Laos and elsewhere. The Guardian articles of Anna Louise Strong have been particularly illuminating—the thoughts of the Pathet Lao leader Kong Le and Ho Chi Minh were something of importance to the whole world. And Cedric Belfrage in Havana has been like a lighthouse in the midst of a hurricane.

John Gruber

International Teamster, Wash. D.C.
"I'm quitting unless I get more voltage!"

French friendship

CHICAGO, ILL.

Declared Arnand Berard of France, speaking before the UN Security Council during the debate on Tunisia on July 21:

"No power or state feels more grievously the regrettable and grave events upon which the attention of the council is centered today and the responsibility for which does not fall in any manner upon my country. France does not entertain toward the Tunisian people any feelings other than those of fraternal friendship. Any event which would tend to separate, even temporarily, the two peoples, is particularly painful to us."

Then, a paragraph later:

"In fact, Mr. President, my government would have been entitled to denounce the acts of aggression—willful, premeditated, systematic aggression—of the Tunisian government in Bizerte against the French."

Fantastic, isn't it?

Arthur MacEwan

Island paradise

MAYS LANDING, N.J.

I am not what you take me for.
I am running through the cane fields
harvesting the crop.
I am dispossessing the landlords
and moving into palaces.
I am going to school with the
campesinos, learning how to
spell.
My skin has turned color; even
in the dark
you can tell which side I am
on.
I am not doing this for you—my
children, my brothers, my
sisters.
I am doing this for me.
I want to live forever.

Walter Lowenfels

Ten Years Ago in the Guardian

FBI DIRECTOR J. EDGAR HOOVER had a cheery word for worried Americans: "This is not hysteria. The arrests under the Smith Act continue half-dozen at a time and will so continue."

The latest half-dozen were seized simultaneously in New York City, Baltimore and Cleveland. Five of them were identified as Communist leaders in the Baltimore and Washington, D.C. areas, either now or formerly. The sixth, an attorney, was not identified as a Communist, but has defended Communists. With the others, he is charged with conspiring to teach and advocate the overthrow of the government by force and violence. Five were held in $75,000 bail each; the sixth in $100,000. The new arrests brought the total number of persons charged under the Smith Act to 51; seven are serving prison terms of five years, eight are fugitives, the others await trial.

—From the National Guardian, Aug. 15, 1951

NATIONAL GUARDIAN
the progressive newsweekly

Published weekly by Weekly Guardian Associates, Inc., 197 E. 4th St., N.Y. 9, N.Y.
Telephone: ORegon 3-3800

SUBSCRIPTION RATES: U.S., U.S. possessions, $5 a year; Canada and Latin America, $6 a year, elsewhere $6.50 a year. First class and airmail rates on request. United Kingdom 35s a year, payable to GUARDIAN London Bureau, 108 Lower Ham Rd., Kingston, Surrey, England. Single copies 15c. Reentered as second class matter Feb. 20, 1953, at the Post Office at New York, N.Y., under the Act of March 3, 1879.

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Vol. 13, No. 44 — 401 — August 14, 1961

REPORT TO READERS

Piracy in the press

THE HEADLINE ON THE TOP OF PAGE 3, reproduced from the New York **World-Telegram and Sun** (Scripps-Howard), most likely was printed, with minor variations, in the first editions of just about every afternoon newspaper in the country on Aug. 3. This is the latest chapter in the nightmare story of the Cuban revolution as reported in the U.S. press—a story about which Herbert L. Matthews, a member of the New York **Times** editorial board, has said: "In all my 38 years on the **Times**, I have never seen a story so misunderstood, so misinterpreted, so badly handled."

The headline—and its cousins—was based on a report by an 18-year-old Army trainee on the Continental jet liner at El Paso that the armed hijackers "looked like Cubans" although "they spoke pretty good English." As it turned out, the two gunmen (a thrice-convicted felon and former mental patient in the Arizona State Hospital and his 16-year-old son) were 100 per cent Americans, speaking Arizona English.

Later that day FBI chief Hoover himself severed any connection between the hijackers and the Castro government. The late editions of the afternoon newspapers and the next morning's papers also reluctantly de-Cubanized the hijackers, but the damage had been done. On Capital Hill, legislators were screaming for the Marines to go into Cuba, and for a naval and air blockade of Cuba until Castro "purges himself."

FOR THE RECORD, this is the score on hijacking between Cuba and the U.S.:

- Planes hijacked from Cuba to the U.S.: 25. Of these 14 have been returned; 10 have been impounded under court orders and auctioned to satisfy claims against the Castro government by U.S. citizens; one more faces the same fate. One Cuban was murdered during a hijacking.

- Planes hijacked from the U.S. to Cuba: two. One (a National Airlines plane, May 1, 1960) was returned to U.S. the same day. The second (an Eastern Electra, passengers released and returned to U.S.) is being held in Havana.

For the record also, the Cuban government offered to return the Electra if the U.S. would agree to a pact with Cuba for each country to return reciprocally hijacked planes or other craft. Washington refused. Havana thereupon turned the matter over to the UN Security Council for disposition.

HAVE YOU SEEN the Cuban side of the story in your local newspaper? Did you know that the hijacker of the Eastern Electra, seized on July 24, was a naturalized American of Cuban origin, who has lived in this country for 15 years—yet the New York **Herald Tribune**, for example, as late as July 30 referred to him as a "Cuban gunman." Did you know that this "Cuban gunman" was being held in a Cuban jail—and not being accorded a hero's treatment, as reported in the U.S. press? Did you know that Pan American flies two planes daily into Havana, and if the Cubans "wanted one of our planes all they would have to do is stride across the runway there and immediately impound it?" The quote is from a Pan American spokesman.

The indecent haste with which the Congressmen leaped into the headlines, before there was any real news of the hijackers' identity, is frightening but not surprising. The **Herald Tribune** on Aug. 4 noted: "The fact that there was no immediate evidence to implicate Castro's government did not stop the tempest on Capitol Hill, where many legislators were inflamed by early headlines identifying the hijackers as Cubans."

There is indeed hijacking and piracy in the Cuba story. The publishers and the opinion makers in the nation's press have hijacked the truth out of the reach of the public. This is an act of piracy which is criminal both in intent and in effect.

—THE GUARDIAN

POSTSCRIPT: Speaking of the press and space—inner and outer—we are almost wordless in admiration at the latest Soviet feat of cosmonautics. But not so the New York **Times**, which devoted two and a half pages of coverage—much of it excellent—to the event. The **Times'** man in Moscow sought to bring Major Titov down to earth with the comment that the flight was timed as a propaganda move to "reinforce Soviet demands in the dispute over Berlin." Pretty small potatoes, we'd say. But it was the **Herald Tribune** which unwittingly scored a real scoop. On Aug. 6, before the news of the flight was out, it carried a commentary on the new Soviet Draft Program with this headline: "Khrushchev Reaches for Red Heaven." Offhand, we'd say he made it.

New York World-Telegram and The Sun

Local Forecast: Showers early today, clearing and warmer later. Fair tonight, partly cloudy tomorrow.

Reg. U.S. Pat. Off. VOL. 128—NO. 281— Second class postage paid at New York, N. Y. and at additional mailing offices. NEW YORK, THURSDAY, AUGUST 3, 1961 © New York World-Telegram Corp. Copyright, 1961. TEN CENTS

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Saratoga Scratches

Cubans Hijack Jet With 73, Hold 10 Hostages in Texas

FOR A COMMENT ON THIS HEADLINE AND THE STORY THAT WENT WITH IT, SEE THE REPORT TO READERS ON PAGE 2

COSMONAUT GAGARIN STARS IN HAVANA

The 26th July celebration reflects a confident Cuba

By Cedric Belfrage

HAVANA

WITH COSMONAUT Yuri Gagarin as an added attraction, the "first socialist 26th July" drew to Havana's Plaza de la Revolucion (formerly Civica) what must have been the greatest multitude in the Western Hemisphere's history (see p. 1). Packing the square inherited from Batista days, and overflowing down adjoining avenues, about a million persons celebrated the eighth anniversary of the assault on the Moncada barracks in Santiago de Cuba that gave Fidel Castro's movement its name. Hundreds of thousands demonstrated in Camaguey and in Santiago, where Raul Castro, who survived the Moncada disaster with his elder brother and is now Minister of the Armed Forces, traced the development of America's first socialist revolution.

The symbolism of Gagarin's presence was missed by no one and was uproariously welcomed with hammer-and-sickle flags, models of the "Vostok" rocket all over the city, and an almost continuous chorus of the "Internationale." Landing in a violent rainstorm Gagarin, in short-sleeved tropical "whites," delighted Habaneros with his modest, pleasant manner and his three words of Spanish, **"Muchas gracias, amigos."** He was mobbed by handshakers at the downtown Marti statue, where he laid a wreath; at the military hospital, where he visited the Playa Giron wounded, and at the invasion site itself. The mood was heightened by the news on July 25 that diplomatic relations with the USSR would be restored by Brazil and Gagarin had accepted a government invitation to that country. "26th July" celebrations all over Latin America and "Cuban Solidarity Weeks" in the socialist countries gave Cubans a new sense of security and confidence.

PEASANTS IN TOWN: Along Havana's elegant avenues spread the encampments of tanned, work-hardened, straw-hatted peasants who arrived in hundreds of trucks, thatched in **bohio** style and scrawled with revolutionary slogans. The **campesinos** were to be seen wandering through the gambling casinos at the plush hotels, staring at the **parasitos** who threw away wads of $100 bills on the roulette and baccarat tables and seemed to belong to an extinct era. Night clubs, presenting gay "revolution plus cha-cha-cha" shows at popular prices, were thronged with people who chanted socialist jingles between the numbers.

On the 25th, 70,000 boys and girls entertained Gagarin with an athletic and dancing display in the Plaza de la Revolucion. On the 26th, the enormous grandstand was jammed with peasant kids now taking technical courses in the capital (not all of the 40,000 could get seats). The plaza, its tall buildings decked with slogans, was a crazy-quilt of parasols, and flags of all colors. While waiting for Gagarin and Castro, groups in the vast crowd sang and danced to impromptu rhythms and roared over the statement by New York Rep. Victor L. Anfuso that 95% of Cubans support the counterrevolution. When the national anthem finally halted the rhythmic chanting of Gagarin's name. President Dorticos pinned the new Order of Playa Giron commemorating the abortive invasion on the cosmonaut's chest and he thanked everyone in fervent Russian. Then the roars of "Fidel!" began, and at last Premier Castro spoke. He began by saying that it was a good time to contrast Gagarin's flight—a historic advance for all humanity—with the "cowardly, unscrupulous" invasion of Cuba.

A LONG SPEECH: The multitude's rapt attention was punctuated by moments of easy give-and-take with their leader. After about two hours Fidel's voice seemed to be fading out, and he said he had warned Gagarin that it took him as long to make a speech as for Gagarin to go twice around the world. His listeners, on their feet for hours under a broiling sun, seemed determined to keep Fidel talking as long as possible.

Castro said nothing sensational was going to happen just because it was July 26—the basic laws of Cuba's new system had already been introduced. No "curtain" was coming down to keep counter-revolutionaries from leaving to "enjoy the marvels of Yanqui imperialism," he said, and Americans would be welcome in Cuba if their government would let them come.

As for the integration of the various revolutionary groups, this process had been going on for some time, the premier said. Forests of hands shot up amid roars of "Unity! Unity!" when Castro, to show that "imperialism already confronts an organized people," asked how many were in the militia, the trade unions, the women's and youth federations and the Revolutionary Defense Committees. The moment for "a united organization of all groups representing the revolutionary people of Cuba" would come in its due time, he said and it could no more be "produced by decree" than could a finally socialized society. A socialist society could not be achieved in 24 hours or in two years, but only with education and the development of economic abundance, he declared.

SOME ASSURANCES: Offering new assurances to small businessmen, Castro said private business would disappear "in the course of years," but at this time taking over small businesses would be "most counterrevolutionary." He called on the people not to "convert into enemies elements which the Revolution ought to assimilate." Socialism was "not an exclusive kind of society; all honest men and women can fit into it." He admitted that some revolutionary laws had been "very hard on some people" and that "sometimes, absorbed in the revolutionary battle, we haven't taken the time to consider these cases." The government would give pensions to persons who lost their income through nationalization and who could not work, he said.

Referring to food shortages, the premier pointed out that $500 million more in the people's hands had brought "an extraordinary rise in demand," especially in the country areas. Per capita rice consumption had risen 30%; formerly there was "overproduction" of fruit, but now Havana alone consumed 800,000 oranges a day.

Concerning the Eastern Airlines plane which a passenger forced the pilot to land in Havana on July 24, Castro said his government did not and would not initiate or conspire in such hijacking. But since the U.S. had now seized 10 Cuban planes, Cuba was taking the position that it would return the plane on U.S. assurances that Cuban planes hijacked in the future would be returned. Later the Cuban government turned the matter over to the UN.

RAUL'S TALK: In his talk in Santiago, Raul Castro drew some lessons from the divisions among the people caused in the past by their enemies' red-baiting. Discussing the degenerated political situation before the Batista coup d'etat of 1952, he lauded the "discipline and spirit of sacrifice" of Cuban Communists. After the coup, he said, divisions had been deepened by red-baiting nourished from Washington, which played a major role in preventing militant unity against Batista.

He said the attack on the Moncada barrack's was not a putsch, but was designed to obtain arms for workers and peasants. The plan failed, but it opened a new period of armed struggle.

Fidel Castro's "tenacity," said Raul, won the support first of the peasants, then of the working class and then of the people as a whole. But the imperialists, he said, whom "we know to be planning various methods to assassinate our leaders" now, were "stupid to imagine that one man's death can halt the revolutionary process. . . ."

Raul predicted further armed attack by the imperialist forces and the use of every possible device to divide the revolutionary ranks. The revolution, he said, must be "flexible but severe" with its enemies, for "this is a war to the death and we know it."

THE LESSON IS UNLEARNED, THE FOLLY GOES ON IN FLORIDA
Volunteers of the so-called Intercontinental Penetration Force (Interpen) leave their training headquarters in Miami for a secret training area in the Florida Everglades, preparing for a new invasion of Cuba

You won't see this exclusive Guardian story elsewhere—why not clip it and send it to a friend?

The British crisis

(Continued from Page 1)

second revaluation.

Speculators, anticipating another revaluation, began buying marks. Much of the foreign capital which had been flowing into London was diverted to German financial centers. English speculators, furthermore, began to dispose of pounds in order to buy marks. The British countered this pressure on the pound by selling gold to the U.S. and using the proceeds to buy pounds, thereby bolstering the price. Just as the U.S. earlier had sent gold to England to bolster the dollar, so the British shipped gold to the U.S. to protect the pound.

This is why Kennedy was able to say "our gold position has improved." The gold position improved only because the U.S. was able to shift problems caused by the U.S. balance-of-payment deficit onto the British.

U.S. DILEMMA: Faced with this loss of gold, the British on July 25 raised their bank rate to 7%, 4 points higher than in the U.S. This should check the outflow of capital from England and attract funds from both the Continent and the U.S. Thus, the British are trying to shift the gold crisis back to the U.S.

A large scale outflow of gold and capital from this country would place the Kennedy administration in a serious dilemma. If it countered by raising interest rates, it would stifle the nation's rather limited recovery from the recession. Senator Paul Douglas (Dem., Ill.) himself an economist, recently warned that raising interest rates would "help to choke off a revival and keep unemployment at a high level."

The Bureau of Labor Statistics reported the full-time unemployed at 5.6 million in June, the highest number for that month since before World War II.

Macpherson in the Toronto Star

Fings ain't wot they used to be

Under these conditions, higher interest rates could bring grave consequences. If the administration does not take steps to stem the capital outflow, it may face a financial collapse with major repercussions throughout the capitalist world, which is dependent on the stability of the dollar.

SERIOUS THREAT: The situation today is so precarious that Jacques Rueff, economic adviser to French Premier de Gaulle, wrote in **Fortune** (July, 1961):

"A grave peril hangs over the economy of the West. Every day its situation more and more resembles the one that turned the 1929 recession into a great depression. The instability in our monetary system is such that a minor international incident or a small economic or financial disturbance could set off worldwide disaster."

Any course the U.S. Administration follows is likely to spell trouble for the American people, just as the British government's actions are hurting the English people.

Anticipating the British moves, Gordon Schaffer, the GUARDIAN's London correspondent, wrote early in July that "the stage is being set here for a vicious attack on the living standards of the people."

"The government proposes," he went on, "to increase the cost of necessities and to ask the trade unions to refrain from asking for wage increases."

As Schaffer predicted, the government increased costs by raising the bank rate, which affected mortgages and all goods bought on credit, and by increasing sales taxes. It also asked labor not to demand wage increases and, to set an example, it refused school teachers a promised pay rise.

PAYMENT DEFICIT: The severity of these measures indicates that the financial crisis was caused by something more fundamental than the outflow of capital, which could have been checked merely by raising the bank rate.

Britain's troubles stem from a persistent deficit in her balance-of-payments. In the last few years Britons have been paying out to the world more money than they have been receiving from it. England has traditionally imported more merchandise than she has exported, paying for the excess by providing foreign countries with shipping, insurance, and other services. Her large profits from overseas investments were another important source of payment.

In recent years shipping rates have dropped, reducing Britain's income from this source. Also, competitors have taken away some of the business of British shippers. England incurred a $70 million deficit in its 1960 shipping. In 1958 it had a $62 million surplus. Profits from investments in oil have fallen as a result of a drop in oil prices. Events in Kuwait might even lead to a loss of these investments. (see David Wesley, "Britain's Stakes Double in Kuwait," GUARDIAN, July 17, 1961).

COLD WAR FACTOR: England's ability to pay for import surplus is reduced by two other factors: (1) growing American influence over the British economy and (2) Britain's role in the Cold War.

Since the end of World War II, many American firms have established branches in the British Isles. At first these plants gave the British economy needed dollars. Now, the firms are taking dollars out in the form of profits. Britain's payments to overseas investors, mainly Americans, jumped from $734 million in 1957 to $1,274 million in 1960.

Britain's commitments forced her to spend 7% of her gross national product on armaments last year. Her arms outlays were twice as great in 1960 as in 1950. Britain has relatively full employment. She cannot expand her armaments industry and her export industries at the same time. Her increased armaments outlays have thus hurt her exports. Much of the material for arms has to be purchased abroad, and this in itself increases imports. Civilian goods which Britain now imports could be manufactured domestically if she reduced her arms burden.

In addition, Britain's expenditures on her overseas bases have risen from $426 million in 1954 to $600 million in 1960. Her "foreign aid" spending jumped from $168 million in 1955 to $532 million in 1960. Her overseas and "foreign aid" expenditures together exceeded $1 billion in 1960, more than her balance of payments deficit for that year.

THE CHOICES: Thus, in Britain, as in the United States, the Cold War has played the major role in bringing on the payment crisis.

Faced with the choice of reducing military expenditures or cutting imports for consumption, the British government chose the latter course. This action will lower living standards not only in Britain but in the U.S. Our exports to Britain, which amounted to $680 million in the first six months of this year, will fall. This, plus the increase in the British interest rate, will worsen the U.S. payments deficit. This will force the U.S. government to choose between the Cold War and living standards.

The time is long since past when it was possible for world capitalism to improve living standards and fight the Cold War at the same time. Last July 25, the British people became painfully aware of this fact. It will be only a matter of time before this will become apparent to the American people. The days of guns AND butter are gone forever.

Fable of the Common Market

By Gordon Schaffer
Guardian staff correspondent

LONDON

THE RECENT DISCUSSIONS that preceded Britain's decision to negotiate on joining the European Common Market recall in a way the fable of the Naked Emperor. You will remember that when the Emperor emerged from his palace without any clothes, all the courtiers praised his beautiful robes, and it was left to a little boy to exclaim, "But the Emperor is naked!" In the Common Market version of the story, the role of the little boy was taken by Sidney Silverman, who, initiating debate in the House of Commons, moved a resolution referring to the "pressure to make Britain enter the Common Market" and condemning this threat "to Britain's independence, her membership of the Commonwealth and her right and power to plan her economy."

Eccles,
London Daily Worker

Showing the flag

Most of the MPs and the leaders of the Government and of the Labor Party fled Commons as fast as they could to avoid a vote—though eventually in the showdown of Aug. 3 they backed the Common Market bid 313-5.

Silverman, in his motion and in his speech, had proclaimed that the Emperor was naked. He said openly what neither Prime Minister Macmillan nor Labor leader Hugh Gaitskell will admit—that the real purpose of the so-called European Common Market is to carry the division of Europe and the cold war alliance into the economic field, under leadership of West Germany, and that the pressure comes not only from West Germany but from the U.S.

Silverman said in his speech: "The European Economic Community [the Common Market] is a step away from the unity of Europe. It is a step towards the perpetuation of divisions in Europe. It is inspired not by economic considerations, but by political considerations. There can be no economic unity without Central Europe."

A Conservative member, Gilbert Longden, quoted Walter Hallstein, a West German Cabinet Minister, as saying: "What we have built is essentially political in character and its trend is to expand further and further into the political sphere" and a former Conservative Minister, Nigel Birch, said: "The foreign policy of the Six is increasingly concerted between themselves. If we do not join, we shall not be able to rely upon our special position with the United States." (The Six are France, Italy, West Germany, the Netherlands, Belgium and Luxembourg.)

These political aspects are the realities which both the Government and the right-wing Labor leaders want to conceal. They talk of a market for 150 million in Western Europe, ignoring the fact that the economies of the industrial countries in the area are competitive and not complementary and that Britain's agriculture will inevitably have to be sacrificed to those Common Market countries which rely on agricultural exports.

NAZI COMBINE: The Hermann Goering combine, set up by Nazis to administer the production of the conquered countries, achieved a unity of Europe. Before the war, the great trusts, largely dominated by Nazi Germany, achieved a Unity of Europe. The United Steel Works of Germany formed in the Weimar period as a combination of four steel firms received $100 million credit from the U.S. In 1926, the International Steel Cartel was formed with headquarters in Luxembourg, largely resting on the German trust, and by 1938 about 90% of all iron and steel shipped in international trade was under its control. The links between the European cartels and those of America were spelled out by the U.S. anti-trust department. Allen Dulles kept them going from Switzerland even after war started.

If Britain joins the Common Market, she will be in the power of the cartels. Economic decisions will be taken over her head. The Labor leaders know this. They know it means abandoning even lip services to socialist planning. But they dare not tell the truth because they are tied to the cold war policies and the division of Europe.

The Conservatives are ready to weaken the Commonwealth and sacrifice a whole range of British industries built up with the protection of the tariff against Europe. Prime Minister Macmillan hopes that the Commonwealth countries—all with Conservative governments—are prepared to sacrifice their trade interests to the cold war.

MILITARY LINK: This is the logic of the cold war and the division of Europe into military blocs. Britain can fight for economic independence only if she asserts her independence against U.S. military domination. The two factors have been linked ever since President Truman made it a condition of Marshall Plan aid that Britain abandon the agreement giving her the right to veto the use of the atomic bomb. The coalition of the Conservative and Labor leaders on the cold war means that they must also act together on the Common Market issue.

But the battle is not over. Many powerful trade unions have declared their opposition to Britain's joining. Just as the realities of the military alliances are becoming clearer to Britons as they see West German troops under ex-Nazi officers coming to their country, so they will understand more clearly where the policy of their leaders is taking them when the threat to their living standards and of their employment which is embodied in the Common Market is brought out into the open.

Dying Soblen gets a life sentence

A LIFE SENTENCE was pronounced by Federal Judge William B. Herlands Aug. 7 in New York for Dr. Robert A. Soblen, 61-year old psychiatrist convicted July 15 of alleged conspiracy to spy for the Soviet Union in wartime. Dr. Soblen has leukemia and is not expected to live another year. "A spy is a spy," the judge said, "no matter what his health may be." Soblen was accused by his mentally ill brother, Jack Soble, and convicted on uncorroborated testimony of two self-serving witnesses. His sentencing was postponed three weeks in expectation that he might confess and implicate others. At the sentencing he denied trafficking in national secrets and said he had engaged only in political activity. Soblen's attorneys announced they would appeal the sentence and seek a new trial. In future issues the GUARDIAN will analyze in detail the substance and implications of the charges against Dr. Soblen.

GOSHAL IN GHANA

A modern state rises in Africa

By Kumar Goshal
Guardian staff correspondent

ACCRA, GHANA

WHEN GHANA PRESIDENT Kwame Nkrumah urges African states to unite for common good and establish an African Common Market for mutual benefit, his words carry weight because of Ghana's own achievements since independence. Guinea's achievements are dramatic, but Ghana's progress is more spectacular. Guinea, however, had to start from scratch; Ghana had sustantial income from the export of cocoa, diamonds, gold and other commodities to begin with, and therefore could get loans from abroad more easily.

In agriculture, foreign experts are working with Ghanaians for diversification of crops and mechanization of farming. Since there is a shortage of modern farming tools, large cooperative farms are being organized by the Agricultural Development Corp. Last year the ADC, in co-operation with the Industrial Development Corp., started on a $9 million sugar cane plantation scheme. Now at an experimental stage, the plantation will eventually produce about half of Ghana's sugar requirements.

Recently the ADC concluded a trade agreement with the Czech firm of Skoda to put up a sugar factory which will start operations in 1963. The factory will produce about 100 tons a day. The ADC has signed an agreement with the Soviet Union for technical assistance for the fishing industry. It is creating a mechanized fishing fleet and organizing a system of distribution.

SURGE IN INDUSTRY: Factories of all kinds have been springing up. Ghana now produces safety matches, nails, sweets, biscuits, cooking utensils, roofing material, canned fruits, meat and fish, insecticides and other chemicals. Last April, Ghana signed an agreement with Hungary's United Incandescent Lamp & Electrical Co. to install a complete lamp factory. A few weeks ago it signed a pact with Hungary's Complex Hungarian Trading Co. for setting up pharmaceutical and cable plants. The agreements specify that Ghanaians would be trained in Hungary to run the plants.

Cement and soap factories are going up, and a joint Ghanaian-Italian oil refinery is being built at Tema. Throughout Africa, farmers have always produced illegal home brew under unsanitary conditions. The ADC, learning that alcohol could be produced cheaply from local ingredients, engaged the British firm of Duncan, Gilbey & Matheson to advise on construction of a distillery. Ghana is now producing its own industrial alcohol, whisky, gin, vodka and brandy, and plans to add rum and vermouth soon. The $1 million ADC investment has proved highly profitable.

KEY PROJECTS: In his New Year's Day address to the Assembly this year, Nkrumah gave examples of the industrial progress: "An enamelware factory at Takoradi and a factory turning out aluminum pots and pans [are operating] at Tema . . . for local consumption. A new boatyard at Tema is under construction. At Tema, plans have been approved for a large printing works which will meet the total printing needs of the country."

The three projects that have received the most publicity are the Tema Harbor, the Volta River Dam and the new universities. The effects of all will be felt both inside and outside Ghana.

Ghana's coastline provides no natural deep-water port. Takoradi, Cape Coast and Winneba cannot handle the increasing seaborne traffic. Ten years ago a committee of experts recommended construction of Africa's largest artificial harbor in a small bay at Tema, 18 miles east of Accra. Construction started two years later. The first stage of development is almost completed, and ocean liners are being berthed there.

ONCE THEY UNLOADED BY SURF BOATS AT ACCRA HARBOR (ABOVE)
Today machines and cranes do the work faster and cheaper (below)

FOUR BERTHS: The first stage provides for four deep-water berths. The sheltered area, about 500 acres, is enclosed by two rock breakwaters 7,200 feet and 4,800 feet long, respectively. A finger quay 1,200 feet long projects into the harbor from the main breakwater.

On one side of the harbor there is a dockyard with a drydock 350 feet long, slipways and workshops. There is a fishing harbor with facilities for tuna storage. Railway sidings, marshaling yards, warehouses and other projects are in various stages of construction.

I visited Tema 24 hours after my arrival, and it was not the harbor project alone that impressed me; even more impressive is the town. There were no makeshift houses for workers. The town has been carefully planned for permanent residents, some of whom are already there working in the new industries. Roads, residences, school and recreation areas, business areas, have all been worked out.

VOLTA PROJECT: The Volta River project has become the key to Ghana's ultimate progress. Early this year, President Nkrumah said: "Ghana must progress towards a balanced economy, and this means the creation of an industrial sector of our economy which can balance agricultural potentialities. All [major] industries . . . require, as a basic facility, a large and reliable source of power . . . That is the justification for the Volta River project."

The original plan in 1951 called for the government to build the dam and an aluminum factory using local bauxite, with transportation facilities linking the project with Tema harbor. But this proved too much. Eventually, the government undertook the power project and decided to let a private concern handle the aluminum factory.

The Henry J. Kaiser Co. recommended Akosombo, about 65 miles from Accra, as the site for the dam. The Kaiser Co. did preliminary work, but the contract for the dam itself was given to the Italian firm of Impresit. It was decided to build only an aluminum factory which would use imported aluminum. The Volta Aluminum Co. (VALCO) was formed by a group of manufacturers under leadership of the Kaiser Aluminum and Chemical Corp. and including Reynolds Metals, the Aluminum Co. of America and Olin Mathieson.

I visited the site and found that a township has already sprung up, with modern housing including air-conditioning. Roads are being built, a hotel site for tourists has been chosen and a recreation hall is functioning atop a hill with a superb view.

MIGHTY BARRIER: An American engineer explained the scope of the project. He pointed to the peaks of hills on either side and said the dam would be up there. The main dam will be 2,100 feet long and 370 feet high—in effect a large hill of rocks with a waterproof clay core. A valley to the right of the dam will be closed by a smaller dam 1,200 feet long and 120 feet high, and between the two will be a spillway to control floodwater. The power house will be designed for six generators, each of 128,000 kilowatts continuous output.

The dam will create the largest man-made lake in the world, covering 3,275 square miles. It will be stocked with fish, expected to produce 10,000 tons of fish a year.

Sale of almost 300,000 kilowatts of electricity to VALCO would help reduce the cost of electricity to the Ghanaian consumer, and to Ghana's neighbors. The power, to be carried by a national electricity grid covering the major part of southern Ghana, is expected to start flowing in September, 1965.

The Nkrumah government has signed agreements with Moscow to construct another power project on the Black Volta at Bui and is negotiating for still another on the river Pra.

EDUCATION PROJECT: In a different aspect of Ghana life, mass education teams have been roaming the country teaching adults to read and write their own language and the youth to understand English. Schools and dormitories have been going up swiftly and many students are getting scholarships to study abroad. Beginning in September, primary and middle school education will be free and compulsory.

The government has also set up the Arts Council of Ghana, which is building a national theater and promoting indigenous music, literature and arts and crafts. Playwrights are encouraged to write on African themes and local drama groups are discouraged from producing such incongruous plays as those of Noel Coward. At the office of the Arts Council I saw an exhibit of paintings by Ghanaian artists, most of them self-taught. Director Peter Carpenter had gathered the works from all over the country. Many of them imitated Western paintings, but some displayed originality and power. Through my window at the Ambassador Hotel I can see the finishing touches being put on an experimental outdoor-indoor theater.

NKRUMAH INSTITUTE: At Winneba, 25 miles from Accra, the government has established the Kwame Nkrumah Institute, where members of the Convention People's Party and students from all over Africa study the principles of the party, which, as the President said, is "entirely Ghanaian and African in outlook and based on the Marxist socialist philosophy and world view."

Nkrumah's change in the status of the University College in Accra has provoked much criticism from standpatters at home and abroad. He has severed the college's connections with London University and has established the totally independent University of Accra, the University of Science and Technology at Kumasi and the University College at Cape Coast. He has been pruning the present staff—too numerous for the few hundred students—and scouting abroad for outstanding educators.

When I asked him the reason for the change in the University system, Nkrumah said: "It's quite simple. Under colonial rule the university turned out an African elite trained to serve the interests of the rulers. Now we want it to be a seat of learning where Africans will learn to serve their own people. More than that, we want our universities to be centers of learning, research and experiment for all Africa. There will be a university press that will publish monographs and books by scholars of all countries. We want the universities to spearhead a renaissance of African culture, to imbue students with the spirit of African unity."

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Greet Wilkinson Aug. 16

BIRTHDAY GREETINGS may be sent for Aug. 16 to Frank Wilkinson who, with Carl Braden, is serving a one-year term for contempt of Congress for defying the House Un-American Activities Committee. His address is Box P.M.B. No. 1647, Donaldson Air Force Base, S.C. No message other than the greeting may be included.

Freedom Riders

(Continued from Page 1)

Chatham said the Riders had devised many ways of resisting prison officials. When a group from Berkeley, Calif., entered the penitentiary singing they were put in their cells naked, blankets and mattresses were removed and the air-cooling system was turned up. He said: "We passed our mattresses to them the first night, but two men in the cell next to me didn't get any and didn't complain." With admiration Chatham added: "The next morning they told me: 'We've got to get used to it; we'll be here a long time.'"

JIMCROW SOLITARY: Chatham said prison guards not accustomed to resistance became anxious after a doctor reported that his hunger strike had left him with a calcium deficiency. "The guard would come in and say, 'You'll die. We're not going to force-feed you.' But then he'd stand over me, shaking his finger and say: 'You-all drink that milk. Ya hear?'"

When the Riders refused to take meal trays offered by guards, Chatham said, six Negro men were placed in two disciplinary cells—dark cells, 6 by 4 feet. Three white men protested but could not be placed in "solitary" because prison regulations do not permit integration. All were released.

Chatham said that Riders' morale was highest when they were resisting and reported proudly: "Some now have decided to stay in the full six months.

JITTERY OFFICIALS: CORE national director James Farmer, who was spokesman for the group during his 39 days in jail, indicated that law enforcement officers were jittery about the presence of the Riders. When the Riders were moved from the Jackson City jail across the street to Hinds county jail, Farmer said, dozens of armed guards lined up: "They even had one of their dogs on hand." When the Riders were transferred in the middle of the night from Hinds to Parchman, 160 miles way, they were escorted by an armed convoy, he said.

At Parchman the group organized itself with lines of communication from cell to cell to the "pivot man" at the end, and votes were taken on every action. When Riders refused to stop singing at morning and evening devotionals their mattresses were removed for three days and three nights and the air-cooling system was turned high. Those whose mattresses were not removed sang: "Oh, yes, come and get my mattresss."

Riders voted to present demands to the prison officials—reading materials, exercise and singing at devotionals—on the threat of complete non-cooperation. The prison superintendent, Fred Jones, refused the demands, but mattresses were returned and the singing continued. Ordinary prisoners on the floor below made requests, Farmer said: "A voice would come up: 'Freedom Riders, sing your Freedom song.' They sang for us, too. The whole prison was singing sometimes."

"I'M WITH YOU": There was sympathy from Negro prisoners and trusties. One trusty told Farmer: "I ain't against your group. I'm with you. I just want you to know. I can't do much. I've got to stay here. But I'm with you."

Farmer said: "The effect on Negroes in Jackson has been tremendous. There are 35 Jacksonians in jail. There will be difficulties ahead, he predicted: "Whites are beginning to put economic pressures on Jackson Negroes."

Over-all impact of the Rides has been great, Farmer said. "Never before has there been such awareness and such public support. All civil rights organizations are benefitting from it. "Now we need a lot of support—financial and public pressure—to face the latest move against us. It's expensive to transport over 150 people, and then to house and feed them for an indefinite period while they await trial."

Another CORE official, Cyril Simon, said: "Jackson is taking on a lot. I wonder if they think over 150 Freedom Riders are going to let themselves be segregated while they are there."

THE POLITICIANS BEHIND THE SEGREGATIONIST STRATEGY
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the SPECTATOR

A march into Berlin

MARCHING DIRECTLY into Berlin, center of a world crisis, a veritable "peace army" composed mainly of President Kennedy's fellow citizens will attempt to reconcile East and West with a plea for disarmament. With uncanny timing, the San Francisco-to-Moscow peacewalkers were to arrive in Berlin Aug. 16.

The 35 team members and 15 supporters will not resolve the crisis, of course, but they will focus world attention on an alternative which need not result in catastrophe. They also will demonstrate that not all Americans are prepared to fight and die for the political anomaly of present-day Berlin. And in the process, the utopian dream of a peace army—designed to enter danger spots and interpose itself nonviolently between contesting parties—could possibly have its first practical application. The walkers, however, can spend little time in Berlin; the road to Moscow beckons. What might be the result if this little army of 50 was 5,000 or 10,000 strong?

THE WALKERS, sponsored by the Committee for Nonviolent Action, arrived in East Germany Aug. 7, completing 5,000 miles since they left San Francisco last December. They expect to arrive in Moscow before the harsh Russian winter begins in November. All the socialist countries—Poland is the third—granted the pacifists visas and the freedom to demonstrate for unilteral disarmament. They plan to hold an anti-arms rally in Moscow's Red Square.

The French and West Germans were not obliging, though the English and Belgians were cordial. The French would not let the peace marchers in, thus forcing the group to civil disobedience. (The peace march assumed the proportions of a peace swim June 22 when 19 team members jumped ship at Le Havre and swam for shore.) The Adenauer regime, agreeable about visas, was morbidly sensitive about its military installations.

The walkers arrived in West Germany July 15. Several times police forced them to change their route to avoid army and missile bases. They also were harassed about signs and leaflets. Nevertheless, the walkers decided to hold demonstrations. On Aug. 3 they staged four separate protests at Hannover resulting in the arrest of eight persons. All were swiftly released.

THE EUROPEAN REACTION to the walkers is far different than in the U.S., where they could not capture the popular imagination. There were two obvious reasons: America's war climate and suppression by the news media.

In Europe, several factors account for a different reaction:

- The mere fact that Americans are doing such a thing is enough to weaken normal European resistance.
- The sheer mileage of the walk, 6,500 miles, was another plus factor. Europeans seem to take such statistical extremes seriously.
- Europeans have experienced the horrors of war at home and this essentially is what differentiates them from Americans on the peace issue.

How will the Soviet people respond to a plea for universal disarmament? They are bound to point out that Russia has offered several disarmament proposals, only to have them rejected by the West. The walkers would reply that this is the chief reason one nation must initiate disarmament in fact—simply because of the deadlock at the conference table.

Soviet Premier Khrushchev has made several unilateral gestures and one major commitment. Russia's unilateral cessation of nuclear testing was a major propaganda coup as well as a genuine peace move, and left the U.S. with no alternative but to do likewise.

The Russians are likely to embrace the marchers with far more warmth than any other people they have encountered on the eight-nation journey. It would be interesting to test the reaction in an American town toward a group of Russians walking down Main Street waving banners and arguing that the U.S. should disarm.

The walk itself may not produce any specific political achievements, but it will profit the peace movement enormously. French pacifists report that the march has injected new life into their movement, even though it never left Le Havre. The British likewise have been emboldened by the American march, itself an outgrowth of the Aldermaston marches.

A project of this size is bound to broaden the objectives which proscribe many peace-minded persons in America. A new yardstick will be introduced—walking half-way around the world—and campaigns of this scope wil be matched and surpassed.

If the walk manages to "move the movement," it will have succeeded.

—Jack A. Smith

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Our German ally

RECOMMENDED reading—but not alone at night: Heinz Pol's article, "NATO Joins the Wehrmacht," an analysis of the growing strength of the West German army and Defense Minister Franz Josef Strauss, in the July 29 issue of **The Nation** (333 Sixth Ave., New York 14, N.Y.).

Terse verse

LAS VEGAS, N.M.

Foreign Aid

I'd be a warmer friend to it
If there were any end to it.

S. Omar Barker

BOOKS

Kennan on USSR's role

IN THE EARLY MORNING of June 22, 1941, as Nazi troops poured across the Russian border, a minor Foreign Service officer sat down in the U.S. Embassy in Berlin and rushed off a note to Washington. While it was necessary to give Moscow material help, he wrote, it was equally essential to make it clear that the West would never acquiesce in Russian "purposes" in Eastern Europe after the war.

Washington failed to heed this admonition, but in the years following the death of Roosevelt, its author had more success with it. Having risen to be State Dept. planning chief, he elaborated the principle underlying the note in a memorandum to Secy. James Forrestal and then, as "Mr. X," in a magazine article, whence it became the official "containment policy" of the U.S. government.

In due time, however, the policy ran into the predicament divined for it 30 years previously when it was first launched by others. "Troops in sufficient numbers . . . could prevent **Bolsheviks** from crossing [a] line," President Wilson's confidential adviser, Gen. Tasker Bliss, noted at Paris, "but . . . we could not prevent **Bolshevism** from crossing . . . Bolshevism fed on ignorance and hunger."

HAVING THUS FAILED as a diplomat to see much practical result from his set of insights on Sovietology when put to the test, George Frost Kennan turned to the writing of history—"from no abstract interest in history for history's sake," as he conceded at the time, but because of "a preoccupation with the problems of foreign policy we have before us today." Considering this pronouncement, it is odd that in his latest effort, **Russia and the West Under Lenin and Stalin,*** Kennan should expend time chastising Soviet historians for their pragmatic approach to the discipline—interpreting the past, that is, to justify the present. So concerned is Kennan himself to justify not only the present but also his own contribution to the diplomacy of cold war, that a tone almost of defensiveness pervades the book.

Nevertheless, Kennan is a gentleman and a scholar, and in his work he reveals qualities of discernment and sensibility—particularly in the cultivation of his prose style—rare in American diplomatic quarters. Since he also bears the distinction of association with the Institute for Advanced Studies at Princeton, there are few better qualified to expound the conventional

Fischetti in the Johnson City, Tenn. Press-Chronicle
"I thought he might want some easy sacrifice, like blood."

wisdom in the field of Russian-Western relations. The book is thus due for wide readership and influence.

Based on a series of lectures at Oxford and Harvard, **Russia and the West** does not continue the narrative of his two-volume **Soviet-American Relations, 1917-1920.** Almost half the present volume, in fact, is devoted to the same period. A portion is also devoted to an account of Soviet internal affairs (rather highly colored) and we are additionally treated to a lengthy chapter on "Stalin and China" with the explanation that "East Asia represents one of the theaters in which the conflict of interest between Russia and the West has proceeded."

In truth, this was a main theater of U.S.-Soviet communality of interest — a common desire to delimit the spread of Japanese power—which produced a series of Soviet approaches to Washington, all spurned. But about all this Kennan is silent.

ONE RESULT of Kennan's narrative format is that the most vital period of study for understanding Soviet - Western relations—the period between the wars—receives such a skimpy treatment that it is of little use to the student. A somewhat more curious result, however, is that with three brief execptions, amounting to less than a dozen paragraphs, the U.S. is totally ignored from page 150 to page 350, from the Peace Conference of 1919, that is, to the Hitler attack on Russia.

Kennan seems to be establishing some basis for this tremendous oversight when he writes: "In the early Twenties, Britain still appeared to the Soviet leaders as the greatest of the world powers. The United States at that time figured only remotely in the Soviet scheme of things." Yet at this precise moment **Izvestia,** reflecting Lenin's view of the Soviet foreign relations problem, was identifying the U.S. as "the principal force in the world . . ."

"All possible means," the paper said on Dec. 6, 1921, "will have to be employed somehow or other to come to an understanding with the United States." (Cited in William Appleman Williams' **American-Russian Relations 1781-1947,** the most complete documentary study of this subject, which Kennan neglects to list in a preface bemoaning the absence of such works.)

ANY NUMBER of advantages to the author's major theses flows from this deficiency, however. Late in the book, as just one example, he treats derisively "F.D.R.'s evident conviction . . . that the reason we hadn't been able to get along with him [Stalin] in the past was that we had never really had anyone with the proper personality and the proper qualities of sympathy and imagination to deal with him, that he had been snubbed all along by the arrogant conservatives of the Western capitals . . . " This derision is understandable in a "history" that has omitted any salient reference to the personalities, attitudes and activities of Lansing, Hughes and Hoover, all of whom were openly dedicated to the destruction of Soviet society.

There is many another convenient blank. Disregard of the fact that at the time Poland was attacked, Finland, the Baltic states and Rumania were dominated by elements whose "orientation became unmistakably pro-German"—to quote another diplomat-historian, Sumner Welles—leads plausibly to the theory that the Soviet incursions into those countries stemmed not from the need to safeguard the border areas against possible German attack but from sheer "greed." And following from the theory of Soviet greed came Kennan's June 22, 1941, warning to his superiors and the entire latter-day containment doctrine. The theory, however, also requires the notion that Stalin "ignored" Hitler most of the time, and since this doesn't square with Moscow's long collective security efforts, Kennan finds the Stalin policy vis-a-vis Nazi Germany, in sum, "strange and inscrutable."

THIS, as a matter of fact, would do pretty well for a description of Kennan's version of Soviet-Western relations. For what we encounter throughout is a pattern of contradictions between his recital of events on the one hand, and the conclusions drawn from it on the other that calls to mind the well-known gulf between the news pages and the editorial pages of the New York **Times.**

Kennan is unsparing in his disdain of Western action and inaction at strategic moments throughout these years. At the same time he is careful to take account of the strenuous Soviet efforts at accommodation with the Atlantic powers — efforts consistently "snubbed" — that preceded such surprises as the Rapallo treaty between the Soviet Union and Germany in 1922 and the non-aggression pact with Germany in 1939. He recognizes that the decisive factor in Franco-British policy, once intervention had failed, was not debts or propaganda or subversion but a determination to restore the confiscated properties in the Soviet Union. His account makes clear that from the first Moscow approach to the Ebert Socialists in Germany after the Kaiser's fall, coexistence took priority at all times over revolutionary aims.

One might thus be led even by this highly porous narrative to the deduction that Soviet power was developed largely in unwanted isolation, as a result of unvarying and vindictive refusal on the part of the West's leaders to have any meaningful dealings with the Soviet Union —even in response to the Nazi menace. Kennan's conclusions are the reverse; namely, that **de jure** rather than **de facto** recognition of "the Devil" may have been wrong; that a traditional **modus vivendi** with "evil" is impossible, and that "Russia was never really available . . . as a possible partner of the West in the combating of Nazism."

In a closing homily he nevertheless adjures us to "accept the obligations of maturity and consent to operate in a world of relative and unstable values," to abandon absolutism and demonology in our world outlook, since there is "no seeming evil" without "some 'soul of goodness'," and to be conscious ourselves of the guilt always involved in the wielding of power.

This is all a contradiction of a contradiction, and it goes to the heart of the dilemma embedded in the conventional wisdom through which both Tory and Liberal politicians of the West still strive vainly to grapple with the challenge of Soviet power.

—David Wesley

**RUSSIA AND THE WEST UNDER LENIN AND STALIN, by George F. Kennan. Atlantic-Little Brown. 400 pp. $5.75.*

NEWSPAPER

THE GALLERY

DR. V. STEFAN KRAJCOVIC is suing a Washington, D.C. shoe store for $25,000 damages because of tight shoes. Krajcovic bought a pair of moccasin-type loafers two years ago and, he says, the salesman recommended the wrong size. "My feet are the most important weapon for my security, so I always keep them in good shape," he said. Krajcovic identified his profession as "head of the Czech underground." Sometimes, he said, his life is in peril and he "must be able to run." . . . John David Griffin in the New York **Mirror** reported: "The word's out that any Cuban exile who wants to appear on a television show must be cleared by the CIA first." . . . Merrill Lynch, Pierce, Fenner & Smith, members of the New York Stock Exchange, in an ad in the **New Yorker,** said: "May we suggest that you consider investing in good common stocks? There's risk, of course, just as there is a risk in crossing a street or taking a bath." . . . In one of the Congolese dialects, the expression for white man is "lolema djola fela feka." Translated, this means: "The bat who flies around without knowing where he is going." . . . A social group in New York for "ladies 20-28" and "gentlemen 22-34" is called "Young College Graduates Club." Persons seeking entrance to its dances are "required to bring proof of college degree."

RETIRED GEN JAMES A. VAN FLEET called the South Korean coup in which the military seized power last May "the finest thing that has happened to Korea in 1,000 years." Van Fleet, a former U.S. and UN commander in South Korea, said he was speaking as "an individual out here on my own." He added that it was "all right to talk about representative government, but such a system, except in great nations like the U.S. and Britain, lets elements get into the government and destroy it." . . . The phone number for General Dynamics, the nation's leading missile manufacturer, is Hilltop 5-4321. If no one answers, count down again . . . Like many another 19-year-old, Sylvia Elaine Sannar went on a diet, even though she weighed only 100 pounds. She lost quickly and when she was down to 85, she slipped through a 7" x 10" opening and escaped from Walla Walla penitentiary, where she was serving a term for burglary . . . Billy Gene Wilson was a big man for a while around downtown restaurants in Mobile, Ala. Holding a fistful of $20 bills, he would offer one to any woman patron or waitress who would kiss him. But police arrested Wilson. They said his $20 bills were counterfeit.

Herblock in the Washington Post
"Don't be alarmed—I'm also anti-communist."

—Robert E. Light

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